An Alternative Perspective to "the Owenite Movement" Window to Sustainable Cities: "Neighbourhood Cooperatives"

ISSN: 2239-5938

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Abstract

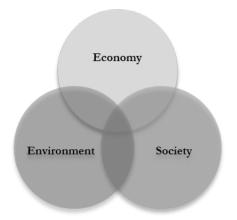
The struggle for sustaining existence and environment of humans is as old as humanity. Capitalism has accelerated problems relating to sustainability. Many scholars have endeavoured to address these problems by purposing an alternative social order. Robert Owen is one of these scholars. He shares that the clues for reaching sustainable communities could be achieved by advocating a cooperative-oriented life style. Even though his idea of villages of cooperation became an intellectual phenomenon this theoretical phenomenon of the Owenite Movement, proved a practical failure due to several inaccuracies. In this paper, developments of the cooperative system concepts, the Owen's point of view and his implementations are analysed. Through the analyses the new term of "Neighbourhood Cooperatives", which may play a key role in fulfilling the basic services of local community, is proposed. The term is considered as a strategic tool embracing entirely the components of sustainability. These components include social, economic, environmental and governance which are also seen as a building blocks leading to sustainable cities. The paper also deals with the scope of neighbourhood cooperatives, its functions and services, and their positions at a management level. And in the final section particular inferences will be made regarding possible benefits such as social, cultural, economic and governance.

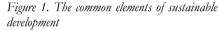
Keywords: Sustainability, Neighbourhood, Cooperative, Owenite movement, Neighbourhood Cooperatives

1. Introduction

Undoubtedly one of the most significant global phenomenon marking the countries' agenda during the last 60 years has been the term of sustainability. Previously while the term was only used for a statement of environmental concerns now it is widely used with a more sophisticated form having dimensions such as social, economic, and the environment (Figure 1). The terms of development and sustainability have been the core in not only academic debates (Daly, 1990; Lélé, 1991) but also have occupied developed countries' governments. Considering the current consequences, the terms have been perceived as two brothers who cannot agree with each other. Therefore the countries concerned about the deterioration of the environmental resources decided on making policies with global institutional organisations such as OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development). It is one of the pioneered organisations established not to transform a paradox of relationships between development and sustainability (McKenzie, 2004:1-2).

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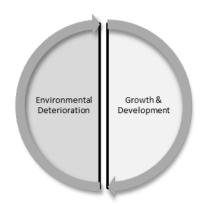


Figure 2. The perception of the relationship between growth and development and environmental deterioration

Basically for the first time, sustainable development work in the global agenda started with an international conference, held in Stockholm in 1972. After that several important assemblies were also held in 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2012 named Rio, Rio+5, Rio+10 and Rio+20. While the term of sustainable development in the literature is defined and explained in many different ways (Daly, 1990; Lélé, 1991; Chougill, 2008a; Dempsey et al., 2011; Giddings et al., 2002; www.un.org, 2016a), however, the most famous quotation was made from the Brundtland report published by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987 (Drexhage and Murphy, 2010). In this report the term is defined in clause 27 as (www.un-documents.net, 2016):

"Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."

Liveability of cities leaving no burden to future generations has become more popular amongst academics, policy makers and practitioners in recent years due to rising population of the world despite scarce resources. Due to the rapid urbanisation and its tragic environmental consequences, urban sustainability issues are getting more complex and dramatic in not only developing countries (Williams, 2010) but also developed countries. Social sustainability is a key component for reaching overall sustainability (Vallance et al., 2011). Even though the term plays a strategic role within sustainable development there is limited literature focusing on it (Dempsey et al., 2011). One striking definition regarding the term was made by Karuppannan and Sivam (2011:851). The authors explained the term through the idea of "working and interaction together". As for McKenzie (2004), he explains the term through five pillars. These are equity, diversity, interconnection, quality and democratic governance.

Cities are places where intense resources are consumed. Therefore sustainability is a term used generally within the urban context referring urban life quality improvement based on ecology, governance, society, and economy (Zhao et al., 2008). Chougill, (2008b) claims that the overall sustainability of cities depends on the sustainability of their smallest units such as neighbourhoods. Therefore neighbourhoods are the vital parts of the urban system. Another significant component of sustainable development in the urban system is economic sustainability. It would be difficult to

achieve sustainability so long as social sustainability is not accompanied with it. Cooperatives with one billion members (www.un.org, 2016b) worldwide play a strategic mechanism role in this system. There are many views supporting this idea not only in the literature such as Schwettmann, (2014), Xie, (2015), Wagner, (2013), and Stattman and Mol (2014) but also with global institutions such as the UN – United Nations, (www.un.org, 2016c), ILO – International Cooperative Alliance (Dale et al., 2013). Even though the idea of cooperatives goes back to early history, modern cooperative approach is associated with Robert Owen (1771-1858) who is considered as the father of cooperative movement. He tried to improve life conditions of workers in the cotton mills by focusing on their work conditions. He, like many social theorists, dreamed of forming a society, which was liveable and happy. He developed social and economic projects based on solidarity and cooperation approach. One of these was the idea of "villages of cooperation" developed by Owen in order to form a community in which there was no poverty and related problems.

The aim of this work is to open the concept of "neighbourhood cooperatives", which may be a new perspective to Owen's idea, to a discussion in order to reach sustainable communities at urban level. The conceptual frame has been delimited with the smallest administrative units which are neighbourhoods. The paper also seeks to focus on the general functions and services of "neighbourhood cooperatives" and their place at the administrative level. The method used in the paper is mainly based on the literature review besides conducting interviews with some cooperative administrators in Turkey.

2. Robert Owen and his perspective

The industrial revolution and its impacts on societies are one the significant phenomenon as accepted by most of the scholars in the world. Britain is considered as the home of the revolution which occured between 1750 and 1850. It caused structural changes in production systems via major inventions. One of these is the steam engine invented by James Watt in 1782. While the revolution brought happiness to the minority, on the other hand it brought poverty to the major part of the community. They suffered from working in the factories in unbearable conditions. Unemployment, long working hours (12-16 hours a day) with all family members including children, and low wages were the important issues. This not only caused the distruction of family life but it also brutally transformed children into kind of slaves (Ebunu, 2011).

Just at that time Robert Owen (1771-1858) was born and lived in this environment. He was the famous Welsh pioneer of cooperative movement and one of the founders of utopian socialism against capitalism. The difficult conditions of working class in Britain affected his work and he, therefore, focused on working class and its habitat. He strongly believed that a liveable 'sustainable' society required social reforms to make people happy (Leopold, 2011; Puras, 2014; Fairbairn, 1994). Undoubtedly the time period and the place where he lived when considering the challenges of the revolution problems and the capitalist order, caused him to go on such a quest. He tried to establish a liveable community based on cooperation and pursued his idea during his life. Owen, advocating common interests instead of individual, developed a new idea called "villages of co-

operation" where the society could manage themselves. Although the idea was quite popular in the country unfortunately it did not succeed. Erdman and Tinley (1957) explain the reason of failure as the establishment of social order based on traditional production methods rather than mechanisation, which at the time began conquering all industries. Poverty and its heavy consequences on society was the main interest of Owen. He tried to address these problems and reached considerable success (Uslu, 2015) with his projects. His achievements led him to develop the idea of a new industrialised society (Davidson, 2010).

Owen's two communal experiences are important. One of these was a mill in New Lanark in Scotland which Owen bought with a humanist approach. The population was approximately 1800 consisting of ordinary working people and orphans or pauper children (Davidson, 2010). He immediately began to rehabilitate the worker's working conditions such as wages, working hours and physical environment of the working area. He also provided particular facilities to his workers' families such as education, housing and infrastructure. As a result of these improvements, effectiveness and productivity of workers increased and hence this movement was perceived as a great success (Ebunu, 2006). Then it became known all over Europe and attracted visitors particularly by advocates of socialist ideas. The other project lasting only a few years was at New Harmony in Indiana, US (McLaren, 1996). Owen bought the "Harmonie" town from a religious leader George Rapp on 3rd of January, 1825 (Pitzer, 1997). The town was established on an area of 600 hectares outside of the urban area based on the idea of absolute partnership and absolute equality. It was a place preferred by old people, some aristocrats and ordinary people. However this social order ended in failure due to reasons such as, forcing a monotype life on people, unnecessary time consuming screeds in the community and lack of a control mechanism.

Owen had some ideas with respect to human nature. And he always emphasised on this not only in his writings but also in his communal projects. The idea was based on two component parts. First, he claimed that individuals could not form their own character. Hence the environmental circumstances played a role in forming it. The other was that individuals were not responsible for their sentiments and habits (Leopold, 2011). To Owen, the features of bearing the human character were not innate. He also claimed that competitions amongst individuals were the basis of social hostility (Senel, 2001). Therefore institutions in a society should be established based on whatsoever you wish to form individuals. The New Lanark project was an example of this idea. With his projects, Owen wanted to apply particular terms into real life. One of the terms that he used was "cooperation" instead of "competition". And the other term was "collaboration" instead of "individualism". Since he also believed that individuals should not work for individuals' interests and profits yet they should work collaboratively in order to reach happiness as a community. He also advocated continuous improvements without harming or harassing any segment of society. Although many scholars agree that Owen was successful in the following areas shown in Table 1, on the other hand, some scholars such as Holyoake (1918) claimed that he did not achieve half the goals he intended.

Table 1. Owen's main successes

Table 1. Owen 5 main successes						
	Stopping child labour					
	 Caring about education and training for adults and children 					
	• Establishing cooperative colonies in Britain and USA					
Social and Economic Effects	 Providing pure quality of goods with affordable prices via consumer shops 					
	Building liveable houses and other facilities					
	Reduction of worker's working hours					
	Participation in decision making process					
	 Providing a sense of belonging to all society 					
	 Providing a sense of caring and sharing 					
	Sharing the surplus					
	• Elimination of Middlemen					

In addition there are some other scholars criticising Owen's movement such as Fairbairn. As Fairbarn (1994) explains the Owenite movement as a philosophy focusing on socialism, trade unionism, social reform, and co-operation, he also highlights that one of the missing parts of the Owenist approach is that he did not consider moral and cultural values while wholly focusing on economic and educational aspects of the movement. Therefore Fairbairn propound that the Owenite movement was controversial and marginalized and that is why the movement ended in failure with frustration. Butler (1980) in her article dealing with Josiah Warren, who was one of the participants of the New Harmony project, and was also known as the first anarchist in the US, asserted based on Warren's cognisance that the society was a failure in reaching sustainability in default of individual sovereignty and private property.

Owen considered cooperatives as a strategic tool in reaching liveable happy societies and hence he used them as a mechanism in order to realise his idea of social order. Therefore he seriously believed that a cooperation was a lifestyle and he adopted it into his projects as the touchstone principle. It is an indisputable fact that Owen's contributions in both theoretical and application to cooperatives are stupendous and undeniable. So he was a source of inspiration for those who follow him.

3. Cooperatives and their importance for sustainability

Today cooperatives worldwide with huge effects on national economies play a strategic tool for countries in reaching sustainability. There are more than 111,200 cooperatives (CICOPA, 2013) and they employ 250 million people and 2.2 trillion USD in turnover according to ICA (International Cooperative Alliance). The cooperative movement is particularly effective in developed countries such as the USA, Germany, France, England, Italy and Japan. One quarter of the total population of the US and Germany are currently members of cooperatives. One third of the population in Canada and Norway, one of every three families in Japan and 75% of the total population of Finland are also members of cooperatives ranging from economic to social, cultural to environmental contexts. Due to the importance of reaching sustainable development, the global institutions such as the UN (United Nations) and ILO (International Labour Organisation) make global policies or recommendations (ILO 193/2002: On the Promotion of Cooperatives) or organisations (International Years of Cooperatives by UN) in order to spread

cooperatives worldwide. Now, it is accepted by many scholars and organisations that there are strong connections between sustainable development and the cooperative movement. That is why one of the goals of the UN is to make cooperatives the pioneer of sustainability.

Cooperatives are not only important tools in reduction of poverty in the economic context but also they provide significant contributions to social and cultural structure of a society. Based on CICOPA (2013) data, there are many social cooperatives providing services mostly for the elderly and disabled throughout the world such as Italy (11,264), Spain (690), Japan (446) and South Africa (90), etc. Hence they contribute considerably to social integration as well. There are also other types of cooperatives such as "green social cooperatives" in Italy, specialising in the environmental services such as waste prevention and reuse (Osti, 2012). Cooperatives provide not only community-based development yet they are also community-friendly enterprises unifying the three main pillars of sustainability such as social, economic and environmental.

4. The concept of neighbourhood cooperatives

In this title the concept of neighbourhood cooperatives, as a new term, is proposed. It will be explained through the Owen's movement experience. It is proposed that the two terms be defined in order to make the concept of neighbourhood cooperatives comprehendible. One is neighbourhoods. Although there are different views of point to neighbourhoods (Eisner et al., 1993; Azmi & Karim, 2012; Lebel et al., 2007; Aydın & Sıramkaya, 2014; Barton, 1998; Baldwin, 1987; Kanlı & Alpdoğan, 2012; Johnson, 2002) describing and focusing on them partially with one or two of its main characteristics, the term of neighbourhoods may be defined considering all their characteristics; they are, like a cell in human bodies, "smallest living organisms" in urban spaces having unique aspects such as spatial, sociological, economic, religious, political, cultural, and geographical. As for cooperatives; Many scholars (Ifenkwe, 2012; Harun & Chin, 2015; Harun & Mahmood, 2012; Verhees et al., 2015; Casaburi, 2015; Mori, 2014; Segu'i-Mas, 2015; Gutiérrez, 2014; Picciotti et al., 2014:21 4) and some organisations (ICA, 2016) defined the concept of cooperative. The term may be defined and synthesised as follows; cooperatives are the strategic enterprises responding to all needs of a community at present and in the future; based on the approaches of collaboration, participation and synergistic stakeholders; consuming resources in a transparent and rational way with the effectiveness principle; providing good quality of goods and services; prioritising human happiness basically; and with all the points gathered together mentioned above, helping sustainable developments.

Considering the two terms, it is seen that there are many common elements describing or complementing each other. Neighbourhoods are kind of social organisms and cooperatives providing social, economic, cultural, and the environmental services are the mechanisms making these organisms sustainable. In other words cooperatives are the unique application tools for sustainable development as shown in Table 2.

DIMENSIONS of NEIGHBOURHOODS Social Cultural Environmenta **Economic** Structure Structure 1 Structure Structure Economic Social Cultural Environmental

Table 2. Overlapping the activity areas of neighbourhoods and types of cooperatives

In the concept the two terms have been gathered together and the term of "neighbourhood cooperatives" has been proposed. Types and activity areas of cooperatives overlapped in accordance with the basic dimensions of neighbourhoods so that there aren't any service gaps. All kinds of activities such as economic, social, and cultural taking place in the neighbourhoods will be performed by "neighbourhood cooperatives". Each family member living in the neighbourhood has to be a member of the neighbourhood cooperatives. This is a vital approach in order to accomplish involvement in decisions made in the neighbourhood. A "neighbourhood cooperative" sheltering different activity areas of neighbourhoods can also be established and operate on its own, or "neighbourhood cooperatives" could be multiple, serving the society's common interests. Although in this concept six main activity areas were proposed for the cooperatives, it should be noted that this number may increase or decrease due to the unique characteristics of neighbourhoods. The suggested activity areas of the cooperatives are shown in the Table 3.

Table 3. Main Activity Areas of "Neighbourhood Cooperatives"

BASIC ACTIVITY AREAS of NEIGHBOURHOOD COOPERATIVES							
Economic	Social	Educational	Faith and Religion	Cultural	Technical		
✓ Ret	√ Heal	√ Edu	√ Fu	✓ Cine	✓ IT		
ail trading and	thcare	cation	neral	ma	✓ Maint		
service	✓ Elder	(Kindergarten to	\checkmark W_0	✓ Theat	enance for		
✓ Ban	ly care	High school)	rship Place etc.	re	Buildings		
king	✓ Disa	✓ Trai		✓ Exhi	✓ Real		
✓ Insu	bility care	ning etc.		bition	Estate		
rance etc.	✓ Child			√ Libra	✓ Securit		
	care etc.			ry etc.	y etc.		

Neighbourhood cooperatives work as part of neighbourhood administrations. As the economic, social and cultural services will be fulfilled by the "neighbourhood cooperatives", on the other hand, both the quality of services provided and the audit of expenditures by the cooperatives will be carried out by the "auditing boards" of neighbourhoods. In case of any legal disputes, the "arbitration boards" will step in. The

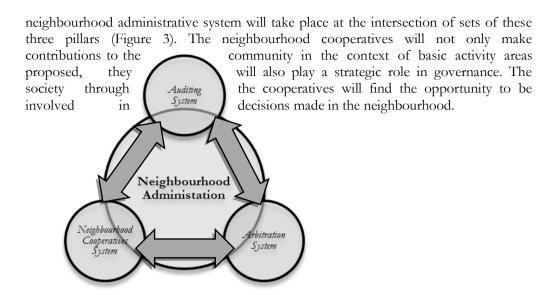


Figure 3. Neighbourhood Administration System

Although the term of "neighbourhood cooperatives" seems to be evoked from the Owenite movement, the concept segregates itself with particular issues. One of these is that in contrast to the Owenite idea, neighbourhood cooperatives do not impose a monotype life style to their communities. Variegation is a nature to the concept. The activity areas of neighbourhood cooperatives may differ based on the unique characteristics of neighbourhoods. In this respect the system proposed is flexible. Another distinguishing feature of the proposed system is that the neighbourhood cooperatives were integrated with the neighbourhood administration system Figure 3). And the final feature of the model is that at least one family member has to be a member of the cooperatives. It is a compulsory yet essential engagement in order to provide a participative environment in the unit. In addition there are some tenets for making the proposed system stable. The followings are the vital components of neighbourhood cooperatives:



Figure 4. The basic tenets of the concept

Furthermore considering neighbourhoods and their cooperatives as a cell in a human

body, and how cells form organs, organs form body systems; it will also be possible to spread the model out to the upper levels (Figure 5).

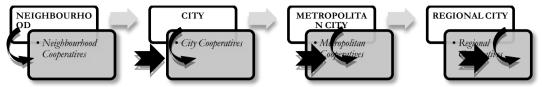


Figure 5. Hierarchy of Administrational Units and their Cooperatives

Conclusion

One significant consequence of the globalisation process has been the effect on government services. The vertiginous developments experienced in information technology and their inconceivable reflections in social, economic and public administration fields have been phenomenal. The new paradigm addresses and supports NGOs and does not want governments to play a determinative role in the economy. Hence some governments have been abdicated from economic activities leaving a gap behind. This is where NGOs step in and are faced with crucial responsibility.

Cooperatives have been one of these organisations, which have been trying to fill this gap. When considered sustainable development of urban spaces the importance of cooperatives is increasing even more. It is an indisputable fact that cooperatives make great contributions to not only national but also local level in the context of economy such as providing employment, increase in revenues of locals, low prices yet high quality of goods and services etc. At the point we have reached today, the concept of cooperative is not only defined as the idea to meet economic requirements but it is also described with a holistic approach focusing on social, cultural, environmental, technical and also even political meanings. It is seen that cooperatives come into prominence with their social aspects. Therefore they could be used as a strategic tool in cities to reach sustainable development. A new concept, "neighbourhood cooperatives" may play a vital role in making a country sustainable.

"Neighbourhood cooperatives" in fact, wish to make contribution to ensure a brand-new liveable society and governance network. They may take on service responsibility in units. As they may serve in the activity fields of social, economic, cultural and environmental on the other hand they may make contribution to the following issues. They may:

- ensure the development of consciousness of acting together in public manner
- contribute to organisation and democratisation
- ensure full participation in decisions taken in the unit
- improve the senses of cooperation, solidarity and reconciliation of individuals gathered together for common interests
- contribute to individuals' education and training
- develop awareness of claiming the space where individuals live hence increase the sense of belonging

In conclusion, the new concept of "neighbourhood cooperatives" may be an applicable concept incorporating all necessary subsystems such as economic, social, cultural, environmental and governance. It may be a strategic mechanism in ensuring sustainability in order to establish liveable and thereby sustainable urban communities. Hence "neighbourhood cooperatives" may increase the level of happiness of the communities and they may meet not only their economic needs but also their all needs in the unit within the consciousness of cooperation, solidarity and social partnerships.

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